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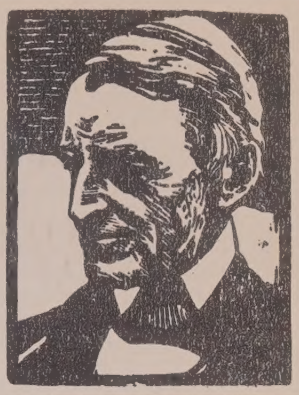

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EMERSON'S 'HORSES OF THOUGHT'

By JOHN Q. ANDERSON

"I had rather have a good symbol of my thought," Emerson said, "or a good analogy, than the suffrage of Kant or Plato."[1] He often found his symbols in seemingly unlikely places, such as his recurrent image based on the horse and horsemanship. The first use of this unusual image occurs in an early essay, "Man the Reformer." Discussing the dualism of creative endeavor, Emerson says:

> "This is the tragedy of genius; --attempting to drive along the ecliptic with one horse of the heavens and one horse of the earth, there is only discord and ruin and downfall to chariot and charioteer."[2]

The allusion calls to mind both the Greek myth of Phaëthon and the allegory in the Phaedrus in which Socrates used the charioteer and his pair of winged horses to represent the three parts of the soul.[3]

A related image occurs in the essay "The Poet," in which Emerson explains that the poet ceaselessly searches for the exact words to symbolize his thoughts, "for in every word he speaks he rides on them as the horses of thought."[4] Here the image suggests the dexterity of circus acrobats whose feats of balancing on two racing horses symbolize the poet's attempt to balance thought and form. This dichotomy is more graphically stated in the essay "Fate" in which Emerson says of the reconciliation of the opposites of fate and freedom: "A man must ride alternately on the horses of his private and his public nature, as equestrians in the circus throw themselves nimbly from horse to horse, or plant one foot on the back of one and the other foot on the back of the other."[5] In an unfinished poem about the poet (perhaps a forestudy for the later essay on the subject), Emerson again used the circus-rider figure when he said that the poet is

> Like vaulters in a circus round
> Who leap from horse to horse, but never touch the ground.[6]

The poet must create on the plane of spirit or intuition but must communicate his message on the lower level.

A group of related images stems from the skill of horsemanship. In "Man the Reformer" Emerson emphasized the conquering power of zeal in this figure: "The naked Derar, horsed on an idea, was found an overmatch for a troop of Roman cavalry."[7] The image is doubly effective because it combines the idea of the superior horsemanship of the Arabs with religious zeal which overpowered the less skillful and inspired Romans. The same figure is used by Emerson in the essay "Art" to describe a transcendent power available to the inspired person:

> "In eloquence, the great triumphs of the art are when the orator is lifted above himself.... Hence the term abandonment to describe the self-surrender of the orator. Not his will, but the principle on which he is horsed, the great connection and crisis of events, thunder in the ear of the crowd."[8]

A similar image build on the horsemanship of the medieval joust appears in the essay "Social Aims." To develop mental agility, Emerson suggested that one "find a companion who knows what you do not; to tilt with him and be overthrown, horse and foot, with utter destruction of all your logic and learning.... You will adopt the art of war which has defeated you. You will ride to battle horsed on the very logic which you found irresistible."[9]

One of the most intriguing of Emerson's images derived from horsemanship apparently came from

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American Indian customs. In the essay "Inspiration" Emerson symbolizes the means whereby the mind objectifies elusive intuition in this figure:

"We were all lonely, thoughtless; and now a principle appears to all: we see new relations, many truths; every mind seizes them as they pass; each catches by the mane one of these strong coursers like horses of the prairie, and rides up and down in the world of the intellect."[10]

This image suggests the Plains Indian method of "walking down" wild horses. Pursuing mustangs in relays and allowing them no rest, the Indians were able eventually to spring and catch the manes of the exhausted horses and swing upon their backs. The allusion to the wild horses of the prairie gives to Emerson's simile that quality of fleetness, wildness, and elusiveness which he desired to suggest characteristics of the intuition.

These examples of imagery derived from horses and horsemanship show Emerson's ability to convert ordinary facts into metaphors of brilliance and originality. Emerson's knowledge of horsemanship was more than academic. Though not a proficient horseman himself, he considered riding a "lesson in the art of power" and insisted that his children ride. When the famous American horse-tamer and Trainer, Rarey, who had attracted much attention in England and America, appeared in Boston, Emerson went to see the exhibition and recorded his favorable impressions in his Journals.[11] Also, in 1867, he noted in his Journals the speed and endurance of horses on the prairies of Iowa as he had observed during a sleigh ride to keep lecture appointments in towns not served by the railroad.[12]

Emerson's use of the imagery of horses and horsemanship accounts in part for the poetic nature of his prose, which frequently accomplishes the feat he demanded of the poet, that he "ride" on his words "as the horses of thought."

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1 The Complete Works, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson (Boston, 1903-1904), VIII, 13. [Centenary edition].
2 Ibid., I, 243.
3 The charioteer represents reason; the white horse, the spiritual; and the black horse, the physical.
4 Works, III, 21.
5 Ibid., VI, 47.
6 Ibid., IX, 331; Appendix to Poems.
7 Ibid., I, 251
8 Ibid., VII, 49.
9 Ibid., VIII, 95-96.
10 Ibid., VIII, 293. See The Journals, ed. E. W. Emerson and W. E. Forbes (Boston, 1909-1914), VI, 157: "Then I see Facts or objects which serve me as horses. Each of my thoughts seize one of these, and, being mounted, rides directly to men."
11 Journals, IX, 318.
12 Ibid., X, 183.

THOREAU'S THREE MONTHS OUT OF HARVARD AND HIS FIRST PUBLICATION

By the Editor

Thoreau's first publication---a hitherto unidentified article---appeared anonymously in the Freeman's Gazette (Concord) on Saturday, Nov. 25, 1837. Since little is known about him during the interval between his graduation and his initial venture into print, I should like here to assemble the fragments of the known records along with much new evidence, if possible to gain insight into the rich experiences of his first post-graduate autumn---when he found himself confronted by serious vocational questions and a period of enforced waiting.

Let us begin with Sunday evening, Aug. 27, 1837, when Henry provided a bunk in Stoughton Hall at Harvard for John Shepard Keyes, just arrived from Concord for the entrance examinations, intending to stay a few nights with his fellow-townsman:[1]

The Monday before Commencement, then the last Wednesday in August, was the appointed time. To reach Cambridge in season involved then going down Sunday night, and my arrangements to spend the nights with David Henry Thoreau, as we all called him then, had all been comfortably agreed upon.... Nothing memorable can I remember happened on that momentous ride bearing a green boy to the first of his decisive trials in real life, and I was dropped at the yard gate where Thoreau met me and took me to his room in Stoughton. I was anxious of the morrow's fate, overawed by the dull old college walls, and not a little inclined to be over-thoughtful at the sudden change it all implied. But these fancies were soon dispelled, a burst of Thoreau's classmates into his room, headed by Charles Theodore Russell, Trask[15] and others who chaffed Thoreau and his Freshman in all sorts of amusing ways, and took down some of our local pride and Concord self-conceit for which I soon found out that my host was as distinguished in college as afterwards. These roaring seniors fresh from vacation's fun and with no more college duties to worry about made a sharp contrast to a Sunday evening at home. It was seeing something of the end before even the beginning. There had been some kind of a row with the faculty and the trouble was carried into the Criminal Court and I had heard the county side of it at home and now was told the students' side by some of the actors or sympathizers and got some ideas of college discipline that varied essentially from the home notion. It was startling and novel to hear "Old Prex" and other nicknames familiarly applied to such dignitaries as Concord had almost worshipped, and I fear that the introduction wasn't of the most useful sort to just such a boy as I was.

The reference to Henry's "Concord self-conceit" needs amplification. We ought to remember that Charles Theodore Russell, the leader of the little group of invaders (which included Olwyn Jones Trask, whom Harvard once "rusticated"), was Henry's very close friend, for whose "Graduation Book" on the preceding July 11 Henry had furnished an original poem together with warm regards for life's journey.[2] The phrase "local pride" becomes especially meaningful against the background of their friendship, for they had been collegiate debaters in the Institute of 1770,[3] proud of New England history in general and of their several towns in particular. Thoreau customarily maintained the outstanding importance of Concord, and Russell defended Princeton, in Worcester County, to which rivalry Dr. Gruber refers in his illuminating dissertation:[4]

"Russell broke into print with his measured estimate of life in Princeton [Massachusetts] long before Thoreau published anything on Concord life, in fact, just six months after graduation. The full title of Russell's book suggests both its scope and purpose. The History of Princeton, Worcester County, Mass. from its first settlement; with a sketch of the present religious controversy in that place. Designed for the use of the inhabitants. (Boston, 1838.) The book is no masterpiece, but it reveals two interests which Russell shared with Thoreau: tracking down and authenticating legends and anecdotes which describe the exploits of early pioneers and the revolutionary services performed by the town; and, second, attempting to arouse his fellow townsmen to the senselessness of religious bickering among competing sects and congregations."

Thoreau's relationship with Russell may have proved a valuable apprenticeship for his life immediately after graduation, as we shall see in a moment. It probably had its influence upon the planning and composition of the future Walden.

On August 30, Commencement Day for the Class of 1837, Russell delivered a salutatory oration in Latin and Thoreau participated with Henry Vose, of Dorchester, and Charles Wyatt Rice, of Brookfield, in a conference on "The Commercial Spirit of Modern Times, considered in its Influence on the Political, Moral, and Literary Character of a Nation." Charles Stearns Wheeler gave an oration on "Empiricism;" Samuel Tenney Hildreth and Horace Morison engaged in a "deliberative discussion" as to whether "Patriotism was inculcated to Excess in the Ancient Republics." After these performances, Thoreau disappeared from the campus and its festivities. We gather that he hitchhiked to Concord, glad to escape the competition of the Juniors and Sophomores for the Boylston prizes in oratory on August 31. Unfortunately, he seems to have missed, at the same time, Emerson's delivery of "The American Scholar" before the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Perhaps he felt obliged to set about preparing for the Concord grammar-school job, which he was scheduled to begin early in September. At this point, therefore, a letter dated Sept. 7, 1837, from his former roommate, James Richardson, of Dedham, is helpful:[5]

> Friend Thoreau, — After you had finished your part in the Performances of Commencement (the tone and sentiment of which, by the way, I liked much, as being of a sound philosophy), I hardly saw you again at all. Neither at Mr. Quincy's levee, neither at any of our classmates' evening entertainments, did I find you; though for the purpose of taking a farewell, and leaving you some memento of an old chum, as well as on matters of business, I much wished to see your face once more. Of course you must be present at our October meeting, — notice of the time and place for which will be given in the newspapers. I hear that you are comfortably located, in your native town, as the guardian of its children, in the immediate vicinity, I suppose, of one of our most distinguished apostles of the future, R. W. Emerson, and situated under the ministry of our old friend Reverend Barzillai Frost, to whom please make my remembrances. I heard from you, also, that Concord Academy, lately under the care of Mr. Phineas Allen of Northfield, is now vacant of a preceptor; should Mr. Hoar find it difficult to get a scholar college-distinguished, perhaps he would take up with one, who, though in many respects a critical thinker, and a careful philosopher of language among other things, has never distinguished himself in his class as a regular attendant on college studies and rules. If so, could you do me the kindness to mention my name to him as of one intending to make teaching his profession, at least for a part of his life. If recommendations are necessary, President Quincy has offered me one, and I can easily get others.

We are told that he gave up the village post after a fortnight's service because Deacon Cyrus Stow, of the School Committee, had interfered with his teaching and insisted that he "flog and use the ferule, or the school would spoil."[6] As he wrote to Orestes Brownson at the end of the year, in quest of a private school or a private tutorship:[7] "I have ever been disposed to regard the cowhide as a non-conductor.... We should seek to be fellow-students with the pupil, and we should learn of, as well as with him, if we would be most helpful to him." I believe he did not attend the reunion of his college class in October.[8] His letter of Oct. 13, to Henry Vose, reports only what he has learned or read about his classmates from a distance.

He was not, meanwhile, neglectful of his reading. On or before October 8, he fed his imagination richly on Number 35 of the Foreign Quarterly Review, on that date copying large extracts from two of its articles into his "College Notebook" (Morgan Library, MA.594, pp. 61-62).[9] From "Friar Rush and the Frolicsome Elves of Popular Mythology"[10] he took four stanzas---ultimately part of a "small tract in ballad verse...supposed to have been printed about the year 1600, and of which a very limited reprint was privately made two or three years ago...."

Thus Robin lived a merry life
as any could enjoy,
'Mong country farms he did resort,
and oft would folks annoy;
But if the maids doe call to him,
he still away will goe
In knavish sort, and to himselfe
he'd laugh out hoe! hoe! hoe!

He oft would beg and crave an almes,
but take nought that they'd give;
In several shapes he'd gull the world,
thus madly did he live.
Sometimes a cripple he would seeme,
sometimes a souldier brave:
Sometimes a fox, sometimes a hare;
brave pastimes would he have.

Sometimes an owle he'd seem to be,
sometimes a skipping frog;
Sometime [sic] a kirne, in Irish shape,
to leape ore mire or bog:
Sometimes he'd counterfeit a voyce,
and travellers call astray;
Sometimes a walking fire he'd be,
and lead them from their way.

Some call him Robin-Goodfellow,
hob-goblin, or mad crisp;
And some againe doe tearme him oft
by name of Will the Wispe:
But call him by what name you list,
I have studied on my pillow,
I think the best name he deserves
is Robin the Good Fellow.

Thoreau had, doubtless, met him earlier as Puck in Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream. Perhaps, also, as Ariel in The Tempest.

More important in the reading record for

October, 1837, was his discovery in the same number (Professor Christy knew not of it.[11])---the rich strand of Oriental literature in the article, "Ancient Persian Poetry," which reviewed Wamik und Asra; das ist, der Glühende und die Blühende. Das älteste Persische romantische Gedicht. Im fünftelsaft abgezogen von Joseph von Hammer. (Wamik and Asra; that is, the Glowing and the Blowing...) Wien, 1833.[12] The reviewer calls special attention to the importance of this work:[13]

"Mr. Von Hammer [i.e., Joseph, freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall] had, it seems, formerly announced the little probability that existed of recovering this lost romance; but he was doomed to falsify his own prediction. In preparing...the History of the Ottoman Empire, he discovered...that the work of Ansari had been translated into that language by the romantic poet Lamai.... The original work destined, possibly from its heresies, to no ordinary metempsychosis, translated and renovated by Ansari, Jorjani, and Samiri; transferred into his own language by Lamai; thence rendered by Von Hammer, it finally falls to our lot to offer to our readers...."

Thoreau prefaced the two stanzas which he copied with the following: "Wamik and Asra; that is, the Glowing and the Blowing. The most ancient Persian Romantic Poem. This poem was translated from the old Pehlivi into the more modern Parsi tongue, by Ansari. It was recovered from oblivion after a lapse of 700 yrs, and partially translated, by Joseph von Hammer-The following as a specimen." Then he takes from the Foreign Quarterly Review:

"The lovers are separated, and Asra is transported to the North Pole.

Asrâ, now doomed to rove, a wondrous change
  In that far-distant region soon effected:
She found a state of things so new and strange
  In nature, that her breathing was affected.
But glaciers melt in streams, and seek the plain;
  The frozen fountains all begin to flow;
Ice-flowers bloom thickly o'er each window-pane;
  The meadows, green in verdant velvet show,
And into flowery flakes converts the drifting snow.

Now hurricanes a soothing air assume,
  The night is warm, the day is glad to view;
The fog condenses into blushing bloom,
  Or falls, dissolving upon earth, in dew,
Whose tears of joy her loveliness renew:
  The brook, unchained, flows o'er its pebbly bed;
The Heavens are freshly clad in purest blue,
  And flowers of Paradise the land o'erspread,--
Such marvels Beauty wrought, such spell her magic shed!"

The letter to Vose, then teaching at Butternuts, N. Y., written a few days later, says nothing about this reading, or his inner experiences, or even his Indian-summer excursions into the Walden Woods.[14]

CONCORD OCT. 13TH 37

FRIEND VOSE

You don't know how much I envy you your comfortable settlement—almost sine-cure—in the region of butternuts. How art thou pleased with the lay of the land and the look of the people? Do the rills tinkle and fume, and bubble and purl, and trickle and meander as thou expectedst or are the natives less absorbed in the pursuit of gain than the good clever homespun and respectable people of New England?

I presume that by this time you have commenced pedagogising in good earnest. Methinks I see thee, perched on learning's little stool thy jet black boots luxuriating upon a well polished fender while round thee are ranged some half dozen small specimens of humanity thirsting for an idea:

Pens to mend, and hands to guide.
O, who would a schoolmaster be?

Why I to be sure. The fact is, here I have been vegetating for the last three months. "The clock sends to bed at ten, and calls me at eight." Indeed, I deem conformity one of the best arts of life. Now should you hear of any situation in your neighborhood, or indeed any other, which you think would suit me, such as your own, for instance, you will much oblige me by dropping a line on the subject or, I should rather say, by making mention of it in your answer to this.

I received a catalogue from Harvard the other day, and therein found classmate Hildreth set down as assistant in elocution, Chas Dall divinity student—Clarke and Dana law do., and C. S. W. resident graduate. How we apples swim! Can you realize that we too can moralize about college pranks, and reflect upon the pleasures of a college life, as among the things that are past? Mayst thou ever remember as a fellow soldier in the campaign of 37

Your friend and classmate
THOREAU

P.S. I have no time for apologies.

One allusion in this letter should be clarified. On the preceding May 5, Prof. Edward Tyrrel Channing had assigned to the Senior Class a theme on a motto drawn from Mrs. Montagu's letter of April 8, 1741, to the Duchess of Portland:[15]

"Amongst the old furniture, not to forget the clock, who has indeed been a time-server....even me it governs, sends me to bed at ten, and makes me rise, oh barbarous! at eight. I go to bed, awake, and rise asleep; but I have ever held conformity one of the best arts of life, and though I might choose my own hours, I think it proper to follow theirs."

Channing had charged his students to write on "the duty, inconvenience, and dangers of Conformity, in little things and great." Thoreau and Vose, moreover, had turned in their themes on May 19, and Thoreau's survives---a strong declaration of self-reliance: "I am required, it is true, to respect the feelings of my neighbor, within the limits of his own estate; but the fear of displeasing the world ought not in the least to influence my actions. Were it otherwise, the principal avenue to Reform would be closed."[16] The point made in the letter is clear: "I'm at home and on my father's 'estate;' I must respect the feelings of the family and boarders, but if you should hear of a situation...." Like most college graduates, he wished to set up for himself.

On October 13, or shortly thereafter, Thoreau must have written another letter to Vose. (Of course, he might have written it in late September.) At all events, he told his correspondent, this time, of his reading, of his social contacts,

of local politics, and of his searches for Indian relics. Shattuck describes Thoreau's haunts:[17]

"South of Mr. Samuel Dennis's are now seen large quantities of clamshells, which are supposed to have been collected by the Indians, as they feasted on that then much frequented spot. Across the vale, south of Capt. Anthony Wright's, a long mound, or breast-work, is now visible, which might have been built to aid the hunter, though its object is unknown. Many hatchets, pipes, chisels, arrow-heads, and other rude specimens of their art, curiously wrought from stone, are still frequently discovered near these spots, an evidence of the existence and skill of the original inhabitants."

Henry Vose replied on October 22, speaking to Henry's revealed interests and mentioning (1) Albert Hobart Nelson (formerly a student in the Concord Academy and H.U. 1832---now an aspiring young politician), (2) Hiram Barrett Dennis, son of Samuel Dennis, near whose farm Thoreau searched for relics (also an alumnus of the Concord Academy and H.U. 1835; died Apr. 26, 1846, aged 30), (3) a Mr. Bemis (possibly either Charles Vose Bemis or George Bemis, originally from Watertown, both H.U. 1835), (4) John Thoreau, and (5) Thoreau's archaeological researches among the clam-shells. There is a possible allusion to Henry's having been on fishing trips with Nelson:[18]

> You envy my happy situation, and mourn over your fate, which condemns you to loiter about Concord and grub among clamshells. If this were your only source of enjoyment while in Concord,---but I know that it is not. I remember that 'antique and fishlike'[19] office of Major Nelson (to whom, and to Mr. Dennis, and Bemis, and John Thoreau, I wish to be remembered); and still more vividly do I remember the fairer portion of the community in C.

The implication is that Henry had been to some village parties with John. We have evidence that the Thoreaus at this period took their turn in entertaining Concord young people.[20]

But even in these social gatherings, his family embarrassed him, getting in his way and apologizing for his new ideas about religion and society, for his having signed off Dr. Ezra Ripley's church roll and for his view of Concord values---reinterpreting his remarks, even in his very presence. Like many other college men returning home with a diploma under the arm, Henry found his originality threatened and was irked exceedingly. He seems to have been psychologically on the defensive, especially against the three conventional and somewhat aggressive women in his family---perhaps against his many maiden aunts as well. The letter to Helen of October 27 ought to be interpreted against these pressures.[21] The beginning is an echo of the opening lines of Emerson's Nature, which, since the preceding April 3 had become his most important book. In other words, he was quoting "scripture" to Helen:[22]

> Dear Helen,
>
> Please you, let the defendant say a few words in defense of his long silence. You know we have hardly done our own deeds, thought our own thoughts, or lived our own lives hitherto. For a man to act himself, he must be perfectly free; otherwise he is in danger of losing all sense of responsibility or of self-respect. Now when such a state of things exists, that the sacred opinions one advances in argument are apologized for by his friends, before his face, lest his hearers receive a wrong impression of the man,--when such gross injustice is of frequent occurrence, where shall we look, and not look in vain, for men, deeds, thoughts? As well apologize for the grape that it is sour, or the thunder that it is noisy, or the lightning that it tarries not.
>
> Further, letter-writing too often degenerates into a communicating of facts, and not of truths; of other men's deeds and not our thoughts. What are the convulsions of a planet, compared with the emotions of the soul? or the rising of a thousand suns, if that is not enlightened by a ray?
>
> Your affectionate brother,
>
> Henry.

At this same time, as a letter of Nov. 11-14 indicates, he was reading books on local history and about Indians. Shattuck's A History of the Town of Concord was one rich quarry for him. Its introductory chapters--especially its opening pages--he mastered for his famous "Indian Letter" to John.[23]

Musketaquid, the original Indian name of Concord and Concord River, for a long time before it was settled by our fathers, had been one of the principal villages of the Massachusetts tribe. Nanepashemet was the great king or sachem of these Indians. His principal place of residence was in Medford, near Mystic pond. "His house was built on a large scaffold six feet high, and on the top of a hill. Not far off, he built a fort with palisadoes 30 or 40 feet high, having but one entrance, over a bridge. This also served as the place of his burial, he having been killed about the year 1619, by the Tarrantines, a warlike tribe of eastern Indians, at another fort which he had built about a mile off." He left a widow — Squaw Sachem, and five children. Squaw Sachem succeeded to all the power and influence of her husband, as the great queen of the tribe. Her power was so much dreaded, when she was first visited by the Plymouth people in 1621, that her enemies, the sachems of Boston and Neponset, desired protection against her, as one condition of submission to the English. She married Wibbacowitts, "the powwaw, priest, witch, sorcerer, or chirurgeon" of the tribe. This officer was highest in esteem next to the sachem; and he claimed as a right the hand of a widowed sachem in marriage; and by this connexion became a king in the right of his wife, clothed with such authority as was possessed by her squawship.[2] Both assented to the sale of Musketaquid, though Tahattawan, hereafter to be noticed, was the principal sachem of the place. This tribe was once powerful. Before the great sickness already mentioned, it could number

[2] Letchford.

3,000 warriors. That calamity, and the small-pox, which prevailed among them with great mortality in 1633, reduced it to nearly one tenth of that number. The Musketaquid Indians suffered in common with the brethren of their tribe elsewhere. When first visited by the English, their number was comparatively very small. Their manners, customs, and character form a subject

for general rather than town history. Such notices, as are particularly applicable to this place or vicinity, will be given in a separate chapter. The place where the principal sachem lived was near Nahshawtuck (Lee's) hill. Other lodges were south of the Great Meadows, above the South Bridge, and in various places along the borders of the rivers, where planting, hunting, or fishing ground was most easily obtained. From these sources the Indians derived their subsistence; and few places produced a supply more easily than Musketaquid. South of Mr. Samuel Dennis's are now seen large quantities of clam-shells, which are supposed to have been collected by the Indians, as they feasted on that then much frequented spot. Across the vale, south of Capt. Anthony Wright's, a long mound, or breast-work, is now visible, which might have been built to aid the hunter, though its object is unknown. Many hatchets, pipes, chisels, arrow-heads, and other rude specimens of their art, curiously wrought from stone, are still frequently discovered near these spots, an evidence of the existence and skill of the original inhabitants.

The situation of the place, though then considered far in the interior and accessible only with great difficulty, held out strong inducements to form an English settlement, and early attracted the attention of the adventurous Pilgrims. Extensive meadows, bordering on rivers and lying adjacent to upland plains, have ever been favorite spots to new settlers; and this was peculiarly the character of Musketaquid. The Great Fields, extending from the Great Meadows on the north to the Boston road south, and down the river considerably into the present limits of Bedford, and up the river beyond Deacon Hubbard's, and the extensive tract between the two rivers, contained large quantities of open land, which bore some resemblance to the prairies of the western country. These plains were annually burned or dug over, for the purposes of hunting or the rude culture of corn.

* * *

It does not appear from any sources of information extant, that all the land, included in the incorporated limits, was purchased of the Indians till some time after the settlement had begun, though a part of it might have been. Till May, 1637, no order on the subject appears. The court at that time gave "Concord liberty to purchase lande within their Limits of the Indians; to wit: Attawan and Squaw Sachem." The land was accordingly fairly purchased, and satisfactory compensation made; and Aug. 5, 1637, the Indian deed was deposited in the Secretary's office in Boston. The Colony Records give the following account of this transaction. "5th. 6mo. 1637. Wibbacowett; Squaw Sachem; Tahattawants; Natanquatick, alias Old man; Carte, alias Goodmand; did express their consent to the sale of the Weire at Concord over against the town: and all the planting-ground which hath been formerly planted by the Indians, to the inhabitants of Concord; of which there was a writing, with their marks subscribed given into court, expressing the price."[2] Whether this transaction related to the whole town is uncertain.

A tradition has been handed down that the purchase took place under a large oak, which was standing in front of the Middlesex Hotel within the memory of our oldest inhabitants, and called, after one of the original settlers, "Jethro's tree"; and which is said to have been used in early times as a belfry on which the town bell was hung.

[1] Colony Records. [2] Ibid.

I have sought in vain for the Indian deed. It was probably lost very early, since measures were taken in 1684, when the colony charter was declared to be void, and the claims of Robert Mason to large portions of the country were asserted, to establish the lawful title, which the inhabitants of Concord had in their soil. The original petition was also lost. The following depositions, relating to the subject, were taken, and are inserted in the Middlesex Records, and in the Town Records, to answer the purpose of the original deed.

"The Testimony of William Buttrick, aged sixty-eight years, or thereabouts, sheweth; — That about the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-six, there was an agreement made by some undertakers for the town since called Concord, with some Indians, that had right unto the land then purchased of them for the township. The Indians' names were Squaw Sachem, Tahattawan, sagamore, Nuttunkurta, and some other Indians that lived and were then present at that place, and at that time; the tract of land being six miles square, the centre being about the place where the meeting-house now standeth. The bargain was made and confirmed between the English undertakers and the Indians then present and concerned, to their good satisfaction on all hands." — "7: 8: 84 [7th. Oct. 1684]. Sworn in court, Thomas Danforth. Entered in Register at Cambridge, Liber 9. page 105, by Thomas Danforth."

"The testimony of Richard Rice, aged 74 years," like William Buttrick's, is recorded in full immediately after it, and attested in the same manner.

"The Deposition of Jehojakin, *alias* Mantatukwet, a Christian Indian of Natick, aged 70 years or thereabouts.

"This Deponent testifieth and saith, that about 50 years since he lived within the bounds of that place which is now called Concord, at the foot of an hill, named Nahshawtuck [Lee's], now in the possession of Mr. Henry Woodis, and that he was present at a bargain made at the house of Mr. Peter Bulkeley (now Capt. Timothy Wheeler's)[1] between Mr. Simon Willard, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Spencer, and several others, in behalfe of the Englishmen who were settling upon the said town of Concord, and Squaw Sachem, Tahattawan, and Nimrod, Indians, which said Indians (according to their particular rights and interest) then sold a tract of land containing six miles square (the said house being accounted about the centre) to the said English for a place to settle a town in; and he the said deponent saw said Willard and Spencer pay a parcell of Wampumpeage,[1] hatchets, hoes, knives, cotton cloth, and shirts, to the said Indians for the said tract of land. And in particular perfectly remembers that Wibbacowet, husband to Squaw Sachem, received a suit of cotton cloth, an hat, a white linen band, shoes, stockings, and a great coat, upon account of said bargain. And in the conclusion, the said Indians declared themselves satisfied, and told the Englishmen, they were welcome. There were present also at the said bargain Waban, Merchant; Thomas, his brother-in-law; Notawquatuchquaw; Tantumous, now called Jethro. — Taken upon oath the 20th of October 1684, before Daniel Gookin, sen. Assistant, Thomas Danforth, Dep. Gov. Entered in the Register at Cambridge, Lib. 9. page 100, 101; 20: 8: 84 [20th Oct. 1684] by Thomas Danforth, Rec'r."

"The Deposition of Jethro, a Christian Indian of Natick, aged 70 years or thereabouts:

"This Deponent testifieth and saith, that about 50 years since, he dwelt at Nashobah, near unto the place now called by the English Concord; and that coming to said Concord was present at the making a bargain (which was done at the house of Mr. Peter Bulkeley, which now Capt. Timothy Wheeler liveth in) between several Englishmen (in behalfe of such as were settling said place) viz. Mr. Simon Willard, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Spencer, and others, on the one party; and Squaw Sachem, Tahatta-

[1] This was between the houses of Daniel Shattuck, Esq. and Capt. John Stacy.

[1] Indian money curiously made of shells strung on strings and valued by the fathom at 5*s*.

wan, and Nimrod, Indians, on the other party; and that the said Indians (according to their several rights) did then sell to the said English a certain tract of land containing six miles square (the said house being accounted about the centre) to plant a town in; and that the said deponent did see the said Willard and Spencer pay to the said Indians for the said tract of land a parcell of Wampumpeage, [like Jehojakin's testimony as far as "said bargain"]; and that after the bargain was concluded, Mr. Simon Willard, pointing to the four quarters of the world, declared that they had bought three miles from that place, east, west, north, and south; and the said Indians manifested their free consent thereunto. There were present at the making of the said bargain, amongst other Indians, Waban, merchant; Thomas, his brother-in-law; Natawquatuckquaw; Jehojakin, who is yet living and deposeth in like manner as above."[1]

This was sworn to, attested, and recorded, like the preceding.

The first settlement commenced in the fall of 1635, fifteen years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, and five after the settlement of Boston. The first houses were built on the south side of the hill from the public square to Merriam's corner; and the farm lots laid out, extending back from the road across the Great Fields and Great Meadows, and in front across the meadows on Mill Brook. This spot was probably selected because it contained land of easy tillage, and because it afforded the greatest facilities in constructing such temporary dwellings, as would shelter the inhabitants from the inclemency of storms and winter. These huts were built by digging into the bank, driving posts into the ground, and placing on them a covering of bark, brush-wood, or earth. The second year, houses were erected as far as where the south and north bridges now stand. This plantation, however, like others in the colony, was limited in its extent. In 1635, the General Court ordered that "no new building should be built more than half a mile from the meeting-house in any new plantation." This order was probably passed for greater safety against the Indians, and appears to have been enforced in Concord about eight years, after which the settlement began to be much more extended.

Many of the first settlers were men of acknowledged wealth, enterprise, talents, and education, in their native country. Several were of noble families. The Rev. Peter Bulkeley brought more than 6,000 pounds sterling . . . .

[1] The town received its name in 1635, and not, as here stated, "since" 1636. If the purchase took place before the act of incorporation, Mr. Jones could not have been present; if in 1636, he was. These errors in the depositions, not materially affecting their importance, probably arose from their being given from memory.

His letter to John,[24] of [November 11-14] is actually dated "Musketaquid, 202 Summers, two Moons, eleven Suns, since the coming of the Pale Faces" and opens with the salutation: "Tahatawan, Sachimaussan, to his brother sachem, Hopeful of Hopewell."[25] He indicates that more leaves have left the trees since John left (Did he leave Concord in late September or early October?) and pays tribute to his brother's love of the out-of-doors and of God's creatures. Then follow two paragraphs based on the early history of Concord, as he found it in Shattuck (given above):

> Brother: I have been thinking how the Pale-Faces have taken away our lands,---and was a woman.[26] You are fortunate to have pitched your wigwam nearer to the great salt lake, where the Pale-Face can never plant corn.
>
> Brother: I need not tell thee how we hunted on the lands of the Dundees,[27]---a great war-chief never forgets the bitter taunts of his enemies. Our young men called for strong water; they painted their faces and dug up the hatchet. But their enemies, the Dundees, were women; they hastened to cover their hatchets with wampum. Our braves are not many; our enemies took a few strings from the heap their fathers left them, and our hatchets are buried. But not Tahatawan's; his heart is of rock when the Dundees sing,---his hatchet cuts deep into the Dundee braves.[28]

Then Thoreau tells of a trip he has recently made to White Pond at Nine-Acre Corner on a blustery November day with "Long-Knife," who may be young Albert H. Nelson, referred to above, or even Emerson. He says that he paddled the canoe.

> Brother: There is dust on my moccasins; I have journeyed to the White Lake, in the country of the Ninares. The Long-Knife has been there,--like a woman I paddled his war-canoe. But the spirits of my fathers were angered; the waters were ruffled, and the Bad Spirit troubled the air.

Continuing his allusive Indian style of writing, Thoreau begins to discuss Massachusetts and Concord politics on the eve of the State election (November 13), and mentions a "young Peacock" who has just returned to his home on Lee's Hill (Naushawtuck). He speaks of the aspirations of the "young chief of the Karlisles," whom Sanborn identified as Albert Nelson, son of a Carlyle physician. Then the letter was laid aside for three days---until after the elections. It was resumed on the "14th Sun." In the brief conclusion, Thoreau again refers to the "young Peacock" and to "Eagle-Beak" (Samuel Hoar?) ---but to neither with admiration. The letter ends as it began in tolerably good Indian jargon. In an appendix at the end of this monograph, I shall set down a bibliography of the Indian books within his reach, especially those in the Social Library of Concord.

English history also interested Thoreau during November. In a surviving fragment[29] dated November 11, 1837, the very day he began his Indian letter to John, he transcribed William Pulteney's "Address to the Commons" delivered in the spring of 1738, on the eve of the declared war against Spain over Jenkins' lost ear.[30]

CROMWELL.

> It is from a printed speech made to the house of commons by a Mr. Poultney, in a debate on the complaints of the West India merchants, two sessions before the war against Spain was declared.
>
> ----"This was what Oliver Cromwell did in a like case that happened during his government, and in a case where a more powerful nation was concerned than ever Spain could pretend to be. In the histories of this time, we are told that an English merchant ship was taken in the chops of the channel, carried into St. Maloes, and there confiscated upon some groundless pretence. As soon as the master of the ship, who was an honest quaker, got home, he presented a petition to the protector in council, setting forth his

case, and praying for redress. Upon hearing the petition, the protector told his council, he could take that affair upon himself, and ordered the man to attend him next morning. He examined him strictly as to all the circumstances of this case, and finding by his answers that he was a plain honest man, and that he had been concerned in no unlawful trade, he asked him if he would go to Paris with a letter? The man answered he would. "Well then," says the protector, "prepare for your journey, and come to me tomorrow morning' Next morning he gave him a letter to Cardinal Mazarini, and told him he must stay but three days for an answer. 'The answer I mean,' says he, 'is the full value of what you might have made of your ship and cargo: and tell the cardinal, that if it is not paid you in three days, you have express orders from me to return home.' The honest, blunt quaker, we may suppose, followed his instructions to a tittle; but the Cardinal, according to the manner of ministers when they are any way pressed, began to shuffle; therefore the quaker returned, as he was bid. As soon as the Protector saw him, he asked, 'Well, friend, have you got your money?" and upon the man answering him he did not, the Protector said, 'Then leave your direction with my Secretary (Milton), and you shall soon hear from me.' Upon this occasion that great man did not stay to negociate, or to explain by long tedious memorials the reasonableness of his demands; no, though there was a French minister residing here, he did not so much as acquaint him with the story, but immediately sent a man of war or two to the channel, with orders to seize every French ship they could meet with. Accordingly they returned in a few days with two or three prizes, which the Protector, ordered immediately to be sold, and out of the produce, he paid the quaker what he had demanded for the ship and cargo. Then he sent for the French minister, gave him an account of what had happened, and told him there was a balance, which, if he pleased, should be paid into him, to the end he might deliver it to those of his countrymen who were the owners of the French ships that had been so taken and sold."

Nov. 11th 37

Thoreau's interest in the character of Cromwell foreshadows his fascination, years later, for his daring friend, Capt. John Brown of Harper's Ferry. The printed history (not Thoreau's transcript) concludes the above excerpt as follows:[31]

> 'This, Sir, was Oliver Cromwell's Manner of Negociating; this was the Method he took for obtaining Reparation: And what was the Consequence? It produced no War between the two Nations: No, Sir, it made the French Government terribly afraid of giving him the least Offence; and while he lived, they took special Care that no Injury should be done to any Subjects of Great-Britain....'

Why was Henry's letter to John interrupted? I have suggested that Thoreau, toward the end of it, decided to wait for the outcome of the election. But this explanation is not convincing. John, in Taunton, would have known the results of the political battle as soon as most Concordians. The two short paragraphs which Henry actually wrote on the fourteenth, moreover, are inconsequential. There is a better reason for his dropping his pen on the eleventh. Immediately following the Cromwell passages in HM 945 are others headed "Anna Jones Statement" and dated "Nov., --37." Since, as we shall see, Anna died on Sunday, the twelfth, Henry apparently rushed to her deathbed on Saturday, the eleventh. The inference is that he heard that this last Concord survivor of the Revolutionary period was not well, snatched his notebook and pencil, as Charles Russell would have done, and visited the Poor House, where, for some time, Anna had been on town relief, but he arrived too late for any significant memories. (Although he was descended from a Jones line and enjoyed mentioning Jones traits in his letters to his family in later years,[32] there is no evidence that Anna was a kinswoman.) He took down her disconnected thoughts, first using pencil and later tracing his words in ink. Russell was, doubtless, in his mind when Anna explained how Princeton, Massachusetts, secured its name. Did he think of her in later years when he spoke with respect of the town's paupers in Walden?

Anna Jones Statement[33]

I liv'd down in the east part of Concord--about two miles from Dr Ripleys meeting house--I had two brothers in the war--one was Stephen. I remember all about the war as well as if it was but yesterday-- President Wig[34] lived in part of our house 9 months he used to go up twice a week to hear the scholars recite.

The minister who attended my fath[er's] funeral said he never saw a funeral where so much respect was paid. Why, there was half of Bedford, Concord, Lincoln, and Weston--and that was considerable considering his station---if he had been a minister I suppose there'd been more there--he was nothing but only a farmer. I I'm the last of 'em-- O, It makes one cry to think of it

Miss Anna Jones aged 86 --37

Mr. Emerson's[35] first sermon was upon this text. Behold I stand at the door &c Rev. 3d 20th

A gentleman gave the glass for a meeting-house on condition that the town should be called after his wife's father whose name was Thomas Prince--- Hence Princeton--Worcester county. Anna J.

The following is the first verse of a song which a young man used sing at her house---it taking him an hour to sing it.

> In June the red rose sprung
> But thats no flower for me
> I cropt the red-rose by the top
> And I planted a willow tree.

Her brother was a minute man Dr --- came and told him the British were coming,

he ran right down the back stairs and fired his gun as he had been directed, this was one o clock at night. I went down and heard the guns popping all around. My brother Stephen went off to join his company under Capt. David Brown.[36] Her mother took on very much for fear he would be killed. He came back with his company a[t] about 10 o'clock---went down cellar and got his mothers best cheese and tapped a barrel of cider and drew two pailfuls--so they had something to eat and drink. Her brother Timothy's Capt was a Bedford man.

Mr Emerson used to preach to the minute men in Concord and Acton twice a week. He told them "they had better go without their firelock than their religion

her father used to repeat this verse to his family

The loss of gold is much
The loss of time is more
The loss of God is such
Which no man can restore

Her father once hired a Mr John Fletcher to mow for him---but did not stent him. after he had mowed a great deal he came to her father and said he wanted 3 things---a house full of silver and gold--to be a king--and to be a good man--Her father answer[d] Your last wish should have been first

Nov., ---37

She tells a story of Mr. Buttrick the miller who was taken by the British They took hold of him and told him they would send him to hell, but he said he had such a well established mind that he wasn't afeared. They might do as they pleased, he couldn't live long at any rate.

A few of the faint pencil notes Thoreau did not incorporate in his final version. For example, [p. 17]: "A J. sung when she was a little girl"----jotted down probably in connection with the song of the young man, who reappears in faint pencil on the same page of the manuscript: "a young man used to come to her house and sing this There were so many verses that it took him an hour."

This was not bad reporting, under the circumstances. Thoreau certainly preserved the piquancy of small-town speech, but he recorded nothing worthy of comparison with the achievements of the Concord historians----Ripley, Emerson and Shattuck.[37] He would surpass them, one day, with his Walden.[38]

He seems to have done nothing with his notes on Anna's last conversation, but because he knew more about her life than anyone else in the town, he was asked to write her obituary sketch for the local paper. What a trial that must have been for one opposed to the pious generalities required by that literary genre! We know his specifications for good biography from Walden: "I do not value chiefly a man's uprightness and benevolence, which are, as it were, his stem and leaves.... I want the flower and fruit of a man; that some fragrance be wafted over from him to me.... some such account [of his life] as he would send to his kindred from a distant land; for if he has lived sincerely, it must have been a distant land to me." The printed obituary reflects no such views:[40]

DIED:

In this town, on the 12th inst. Miss Anna Jones, aged 86.[41]

When a fellow being departs for the land of spirits, whether that spirit take its flight from a hovel or a palace, we would fain know what was its demeanor in life--what of beautiful it lived.

We are happy to state, upon the testimony of those who knew her best, that the subject of this notice was an upright and exemplary woman, that her amiableness and benevolence were such as to win all hearts, and, to her praise be it spoken, that during a long life, she was never known to speak ill of any one. After a youth passed amid scenes of turmoil and war, she has lingered thus long amongst us a bright sample of the Revolutionary woman. She was as it were, a connecting link between the past and the present--a precious relic of days which the man and patriot would not willingly forget.

The religious sentiment was strongly developed in her. Of her last years it may truly be said, that they were passed in the society of the apostles and prophets; she lived as in their presence; their teachings were meat and drink to her. Poverty was her lot, but she possessed those virtues without which the rich are but poor. As her life had been, so was her death.

The evidence for his authorship of the foregoing article can be found among fragments of his surviving manuscripts in the Houghton Library,[42] where it appears in two penciled drafts, representing as many stages in composition. I list the principal variants:

DRAFT A	DRAFT B
aged 85	aged [ ]
When we hear of the departure of a fellow being	When a fellow being departs for the land of spirits
we would fain know what has been its demeanor	we would fain know what was its demeanor
the subject of this memoir	the subject of this notice
was an upright and exemplary woman--that throughout a long life she has sustained among those who have known her best an irreproachable character--and that her benevolence	was an upright and exemplary woman--that her benevolence

She was never known to speak ill of any one and to her praise be it spoken.	--and to her praise be it spoken--that during a long life she was never known to speak ill of any one. She was as it were a connecting link between the past and the present a precious relic of days of which the man and patriot can [not] be too often reminded. will not willingly forget. The religious sentiment was strongly developed in her
Of the last years of her life	Of her last years
apostles and prophets --their words were ever upon her lips-- their teachings	apostles and prophets. She lived as in their presence--their teachings

If the familiar Thoreauvian "signature" be lacking in this conventional and anonymous notice, I think we may certainly assume that the women of the household held him to the sacred proprieties and prevented any singularity. Their oversight, I suspect, accounts for the suppression of the following passage, present in both drafts, but missing from the printed notice:

> And who shall say that her religion was not a reality? that under much that was hollow and conventional there burned not a living and inextinguishable flame?

Then followed: "Poverty was her lot...." Here is the genuine signature of the young rebel who, like Charles Russell, detested the routine religious observances and senseless bickerings of small-town sectarians.[43] Here he shows a sympathy and kindness for the pauper spinster which were probably not evoked from the hearts of many self-supporting Concordians. Thoreau invites the self-righteous, if they dare, to cast the first stone at her. He wishes to indicate that she has an inner or transcendent Self, as does every man, the cultivation of which is the only important religious fact. He was remembering the conclusion of Emerson's Nature: "Every spirit builds itself a house; and beyond its house, a world; and beyond its world, a heaven. Know then, that the world exists for you. For you is the phenomenon perfect.... Adam called his house, heaven and earth; Caesar called his house, Rome; you perhaps call yours, a cobler's trade...or a scholar's garret. Yet line for line and point for point, your dominion is as great as theirs, though without fine names. Build, therefore, your own world." Those who were proud of so generously supporting the Town's poor[44] might, indeed, learn spiritual truth from Anna Jones.

But Thoreau's family had its way, and the "dead" were allowed to bury the dead. Like Mrs. Montagu, meanwhile, as he wrote Vose, he outwardly conformed to local traditions and conditions, though he became increasingly aware of other clocks than theirs and of the beat of a different drummer.

BOOKS ON INDIANS WHICH THOREAU DID KNOW OR MIGHT HAVE KNOWN BY NOVEMBER, 1837:

I. BOOKS AVAILABLE AT HARVARD.[45]

Bartram, William: Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee country, the extensive territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek confederacy, and the country of the Chactaws...together with observations on the manners of the Indians, Phila., 1791; London, 1792.

Buchanan, James: Sketches of the history, manners, and customs of the North American Indians with a plan for their melioration, (2 vols.), N.Y., 1824.

Drake, Samuel Gardner: Indian Biography [See below.]

Francis, Convers: "Life of John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians" in vol. V of Jared Sparks, ed., The Library of American Biography (1st ser., 10 vols.) Boston & London, 1836-1839.

Halkett, John: Historical notes respecting the Indians of North America: with remarks on the attempts made to convert and civilize them, London, 1825.

Trumbull, Henry: History of the discovery of America; of the landing of our forefathers, at Plymouth, and of their most remarkable engagements with the Indians, in New-England, from their first landing in 1620, until the final subjugation of the natives in 1679, (2d ed. corrected), Trenton, 1812.

Winthrop, John: The history of New England from 1630 to 1649...from his original manuscripts. With notes...by James Savage, (2 vols.) Boston, 1825-1826. [This is another ed. of his Journal, q.v.]

II. BOOKS IN THE SOCIAL LIBRARY AT CONCORD:[46]

Bradford, Alden: History of Massachusetts, (3 vols.) Boston, 1822-1829.

Cooper, James Fenimore: The Last of the Mohicans; a narrative of 1757, (2 vols.), *Phila., 1826.

Cooper, James Fenimore: The Prairie; a tale, (2 vols.), *Phila., 1833.

Cooper, James Fenimore: The Spy; a tale of the neutral ground, (2 vols.) [Edition uncertain].

Drake, Samuel Gardner: Indian Biography, containing the lives of more than two hundred Indian chiefs: also such others of that race as have rendered their names conspicuous in the history of North America...Giving...their most celebrated speeches, memorable sayings, numerous

* Possible edition, but not certain.

anecdotes..., Boston, 1832. [An enlarged edition was issued at N.Y., 1834.]

Drake, Samuel Gardner: The old Indian chronicle; being a collection of exceeding rare tracts written and published in the time of King Philip's war, by persons residing in the country; to which are now added marginal notes and Chronicles of the Indians from the discovery of America to the present time, Boston (Antiquarian Institute), 1836.

Hubbard, William: A Narrative of the Indian wars in New-England (2 vols.) [Title varies with editions. Edition in the Social Library uncertain.]

Indian Tracts [An unidentified single volume in a series known as the Boys' and Girls' Library].

Minot, George Richards: Continuation of the history of the province of Massachusetts bay, from the year 1748 [to 1765]. With an introductory sketch of events from its original settlement, (2 vols.), Boston, 1803. [Continuation of Thomas Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts-Bay.]

Morse, Jedidiah + Elijah Parish: A compendious history of New England. [Edition uncertain].

Shattuck, Lemuel: A History of the Town of Concord, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from its earliest settlement to 1832; and of the adjoining towns..., Boston [&] Concord, 1835.

Thatcher, Benjamin Bussey: Indian Biography: or, An historical account of those individuals who have been distinguished among the North American natives as orators, warriors, statesmen, and other remarkable characters, (2 vols.), *N.Y., 1832.

Thatcher, Benjamin Bussey: Tales of the Indians; being prominent passages of the history of the North American natives. Taken from authentic sources, Boston, 1831.

Winthrop, John: A journal of the transactions and occurrences in the settlement of Massachusetts and other New England colonies, Hartford, 1790.

III. BOOKS THOREAU READ AT HARVARD:[47]

Brackenridge, Henry Marie: Journal of a voyage up the river Missouri, performed in 1811, (2d ed.) Baltimore, 1815.

Cox, Ross: Adventures on the Columbia River, including the narrative of a residence of six years on the western side of the Rocky Mountains among various tribes of Indians..., N.Y., 1832.

Sigourney, Mrs. Lydia Howard (Huntley): Traits of the aborigines of America. A poem, Cambridge, [Mass.], 1822.

IV. BOOKS JUST ADVERTISED OR PUBLISHED.

Catlin, George: Catalogue of Catlin's Indian gallery of portraits, landscapes, manners and customs, costumes &c....collected during seven years' travel amongst thirty-eight different tribes, speaking different languages, N.Y., 1837.

Irving, John Treat: Indian sketches, taken during an expedition to the Pawnee and other tribes of American Indians, (2 vols.), London, 1835; (2 vols.), Philadelphia, 1835.

McKenney, Thomas Loraine: History of the Indian tribes of North America, with biographical sketches and anecdotes of the principal chiefs. Embellished with 120 portraits from the Indian gallery in the Department of War at Washington, (3 vols.), Philadelphia, 1836-1844.

Rafinesque, Constantine Samuel: The American nations; or, Outlines of their general history, ancient and modern...the annals, traditions, civilization, languages &c., of all the American nations, tribes, empires, and states, (2 vols.), Philadelphia, 1836.

V. A BOOK THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN AVAILABLE TO HIM:

Jones, James Athearn: Traditions of the North American Indians: being a second and revised edition of "Tales of an Indian camp," (3 vols.) London, 1830.

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1 See Raymond Adams, "Thoreau at Harvard: Some Unpublished Records," N E Q, XIII, pp. 24-33 (March, 1940), esp. p. 32. Reprinted with the permission of the Editor of N E Q.)

2 The book survives in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library. See folios [55-56] for Thoreau's inscriptions.

3 See Kenneth W. Cameron, Thoreau Discovers Emerson: A College Reading Record, N.Y., 1953, pp. 5ff.

4 See Christian P. Gruber, The Education of Henry Thoreau, Harvard 1833-1837, Ann Arbor (Univ. Microfilms Publ. 8077), [1954], pp. 69-70.

5 The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, (Walden Edition), Boston & N.Y., [1906], VI, 10-11. Quoted with the permission of the Houghton Mifflin Co. The original letter is now in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

6 Henry Seidel Canby, Thoreau, Boston, [1939], p. 67. See full details in Townsend Scudder, Concord: American Town, Boston, 1947, pp. 159-160.

7 Canby, op. cit., p. 61. The letter is dated at Concord, Dec. 30, 1837.

8 See Richardson's letter supra.

9 The present writer is elsewhere editing the entire MS. with the permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.

10 F Q R, XVIII, no. 35 (Oct., 1836), pp. 199-200.

11 Arthur Christy, The Orient in American Transcendentalism: A Study of Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott, N.Y., 1932.

12 This poem, "Wamig and 'Adra" or "Vamick and 'Adrha," attributed to Unsuri, is discussed in A. V. Williams Jackson, Early Persian Poetry from the Beginnings down to the Time of Firdausi, N.Y., 1920, p. 72; and in Edward Granville Browne, A Literary History of Persia from the Earliest Times until Firdausi, London, 1902, pp. 12, 347.

13 F Q R, XVIII, no. 35 (Oct., 1836), p. 150.

14 Raymond Adams, loc. cit., XIII, pp. 28-29.

15 Mrs. Elizabeth (Robinson) Montagu, The Letters ...with some of the letters of her Correspondents, pub. by Matthew Montagu, (3 vols.), Boston, 1825, I, pp. 87-88.

16 Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, The Life of Henry David Thoreau, Boston & N.Y., 1917, pp. 150-151.

17 Lemuel Shattuck, A History of the Town of Concord, Boston [&] Concord, 1835, p. 3.
18 The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, ed. cit., VI, p. 18.
19 In The Tempest, II, ii, 25ff., Trinculo says (of Caliban): "What have we here? a man or a fish? dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell."
20 George Moore, whose diary the present writer is editing, reports under the date of March 9, 1830: "Was invited out to a party, this evening, at Mr. Thoreau's, but did not attend."
21 The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, ed. cit., VI, pp. 12-13.
22 "Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe?...why should we grope among the dry bones of the past, or put the living generation into masquerade out of its faded wardrobe.... There are new lands, new men, new thoughts. Let us demand our own works and laws and worship." See Thoreau Discovers Emerson, pp. 15-16; Henry Seidel Canby, op. cit., pp. 96-102.
23 Shattuck, op. cit., pp. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9.
24 The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, ed. cit., VI, 13-17.
25 Emerson was fond of Bias' [or Chilon's] reply to the question: "How does a wise or learned man differ from an unlearned or fool?" Answer: "In a good hope." See Emerson's Journals, III, 233; Kenneth W. Cameron, Emerson the Essayist, (2 vols.), Raleigh, N.C., I, 421.
26 The woman who was the undoing of the Concord Indians was Squaw Sachem, mentioned above in Shattuck's account.
27 Possibly a synonym for "Yankees," who with little wampum and a few cheap trinkets made Indian resistance ineffective.
28 In Shattuck's account, Tahatawan consented to Squaw Sachem's plan and entered into the negotiations. Thoreau implies that he was forced to do so against his will and that he never was reconciled to the transaction.
29 HM 945, folios [12-15]. Reprinted below with permission.
30 The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons from the Restoration to the Present Time, (14 vols.), London, 1742-1744, X, 214-215. Thoreau might have secured this quotation from a reprint in a newspaper or magazine.
31 Ibid., X, p. 215.
32 See, for example, The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, ed. cit., VI, p. 104. Also Canby, op. cit., p. 17
33 HM 945, folios [15-18]. Edited with permission.
34 Edward Wigglesworth was acting president of Harvard during 1780-1781.
35 The Rev. William Emerson, grandfather of R.W.E.
36 The MS. reads "Brow" or "Brom"---a hasty scrawl. Capt. David Brown is mentioned in Shattuck, op. cit., pp. 357-358.
37 Ezra Ripley, A History of the Fight at Concord, 19 April 1775, Concord, 1827. (See Emerson's Journals, III, 516.) See Ralph Waldo Emerson, A Historical Discourse, Delivered before the Citizens of Concord, 12th September, 1835, Concord, 1835. (See Emerson's Letters, I, 455, and Journals, III, 507-508.)
38 Kenneth W. Cameron, "Thoreau and the Folklore of Walden Pond," E S Q, no. 3 (2 Quarter, 1956), pp. 10-12.
39 Toward the end of Chapter I ("Economy").
40 Freeman's Gazette, Concord, Mass., Sat., Nov. 25, 1837, p. 3.
41 Thoreau's date is correct. A mistake appears in the principal work of reference for Concord vital statistics: Concord Mass.: Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 1635-1850, [Concord,] Printed by the Town, [1894], p. 351. "Anna Jones (pauper) died November 13th, 1837. Aged 86. Gazette."
42 Am 278.5(3). Edited with permission.
43 On the status of Thoreau's religion at this time, see Christian P. Gruber, op. cit., chapters II and VII.
44 See Shattuck, op. cit., chapter XIV.
45 Based upon A Catalogue of the Library of Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., (3 vols.), Cambridge, 1830 + First Supplement, Cambridge, 1834.
46 See the Catalogue of Concord Social Library, Concord, 1836.
47 See Kenneth W. Cameron, "Books Thoreau Borrowed from the Harvard College Library," Emerson the Essayist, II, 191-208. This list would be longer if we had the complete record of his reading at the library of the Institute of 1770, most of which is lost. See Cameron, Thoreau Discovers Emerson: A College Reading Record, N.Y., 1953, pp. 8-12.

A COLLEGE POEM BY JONES VERY

By the Editor

The "Song" which Jones Very wrote for the Valedictory Exercises of the Senior Class of Harvard University, Tuesday, July 19, 1836, to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne", has been printed on pp. 147-148 of William Irving Bartlett's Jones Very: Emerson's "Brave Saint," Durham, 1942. Hitherto unknown is an earlier college song, written to the same familiar tune as the one just mentioned, surviving, it appears, in a unique manuscript now in the possession of the writer:

A Song composed by Mr J. Very, to
be sung at the Class-Supper of
the Sophomore Class of 1834.

Shall College suppers be forgot,
And never brought to min'?
The friends we've had remembere'd not,
And days o' lang syne?

Those suppers full o'f mirth and glee
Those friends so true and kin'
No better we shall ever see,
Than those o' lang syne.

And if those friends we ever meet
In any foreign clime,
We'll take them by the hand and greet,
And speak o' lang syne.

If false and hollow all beside,
Shall prove to me and mine;
Then sweetly o'er my mind shall glide,
The thoughts o' lang syne.

As long as Ceres gives the grain,
And Bacchus yields the wine,
So long shall in my breast remain,

The thoughts o' lang syne.

Then fill your cups my hearty friends,
We'll have a jolly time;
We'll use the gifts that Bacchus sends,
And drink to auld lang syne.

Chorus.

For auld lang syne my dear
For auld lang syne
We'll tak' a cup of kindness yet,
For auld lang syne.

FOUR UNCOLLECTED THOREAU POEMS, WITH NOTES ON THE CANON

By the Editor.

Professor Carl Bode's excellent edition of Thoreau's poems[1] is placing active scholars increasingly in debt to him for an achievement, in the midst of almost insuperable bibliographical difficulties, of, if not a definitive edition of Thoreau's poems, at least one that can help us help him bring it nearer completeness and accuracy, when the second edition shall eventually appear. One of the many helpful aids which he has provided researchers is a list of known poems which, with all his patient searching, he was not able to find or secure for his volume.[2] One of them I have discovered and shall edit for the first time in the following columns together with three others hitherto unlisted and unknown. Before presenting them, together with a facsimile of the important single leaf of manuscript--the only record of them--I should like to offer a few observations on Professor Bode's exceptionally accurate text.

[p. 87] I LOVE A CARELESS STREAMLET

The eighth line should read: "Towards the far-distant sea." This poem is found on pp. [55-56] of Charles Theodore Russell's graduation book, now in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library, and therein dated "July 11th ——37." Following it Thoreau has quoted from Percy's Reliques:

"In december, when the dayes draw to be short,
After november, when the nights wax noysome
& long;
As I past by a place privily at a port,
I saw one sit by himself making a song."
Little John Nobody.

[p. 84] THEREFORE A TORRENT OF SADNESS DEEP

The couplet given under this heading in the Collected Poems is not Thoreau's at all, but Felicia Hemans'----another example of Thoreau's interest in her verses. The anonymous reviewer[3] of Professor Bode's volume has already pointed out, on p. 222 of the Collected Poems, another borrowing which Thoreau made from her works---two lines from "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers,"[4] and Dr. Bode has indicated her influence on Thoreau's "Godfrey of Boulogne." The couplet that concerns me was very popular with Emerson, who, like Thoreau, often misquoted it.[5] And Henry copied it from a notebook of Emerson's into his Literary Note-Book, now in the Library of Congress:[6]

To Music

Therefore a current of sadness deep
Through the streams of thy triumph is heard
to sweep.

The student of Thoreau's handwriting will understand how, in A Week,[7] current became torrent. I give the complete poem from which the lines are quoted:[8]

THE VOICE OF MUSIC.

Seeing the electric chain wherewith we are darkly bound.
Childe Harold

Whence is the might of thy master-spell?
Speak to me, voice of sweet sound, and tell!
How canst thou wake, by one gentle breath,
Passionate visions of love and death!

How call'st thou back, with a note, a sigh,
Words and low tones from the days gone by—
A sunny glance, or a fond farewell?—
Speak to me, voice of sweet sound, and tell!

What is thy power, from the soul's deep spring
In sudden gushes the tears to bring?
Even 'midst the swells of thy festal glee,
Fountains of sorrow are stirr'd by thee!

Vain are those tears!—vain and fruitless all—
Showers that refresh not, yet still must fall;
For a purer bliss while the full heart burns,
For a brighter home while the spirit yearns!

Something of mystery there surely dwells,
Waking thy touch, in our bosom-cells;
Something that finds not its answer here—
A chain to be clasp'd in another sphere.

Therefore a current of sadness deep,
Through the stream of thy triumphs is heard to
sweep,
Like a moan of the breeze through a summer sky—
Like a name of the dead when the wine foams
high!

Yet speak to me still, though thy tones be fraught
With vain remembrance and troubled thought;—
Speak! for thou tellest my soul that its birth
Links it with regions more bright than earth.

[p. 239] A WINTER AND SPRING SCENE

Catalogue 207 (Spring, 1956), of the Carnegie Book Shop, 140 East 58th Street, New York 22, on page 27, lists a two-page quarto manuscript of this poem---less complete than Dr. Bode's text, but offering variants.

The manuscript containing the four love lyrics, which I shall edit here, was given in 1953 by Mrs. Simon Guggenheim to the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library,[9] to which I am indebted for permission to edit.[10] The titles are mine.

[THE LAW OF LOVE]

I will obey the strictest law of love
As if I dealt with cherubim above.
I will accept no help gift from my friend
The which he thinks for hate to make amend.
But every friendly thought
Will come to me unbought

[Cont'd on page 18]

cause of — Jewell — small drops of serum
stand out on every side of the twigs, as
if they had been punctured — It may be the
work of an insect I have taken out
walnuts & filberts — eggs.
Beautiful fungi like butterflies or
shells — vegetable shells. wrinkled
[illegible]
I will obey the strictest law of love
& if I dealt with cherubim above.
Will accept no half gift from my spirit
Nay shall be thirsty for but one & one.
But every inside thought
Fully come one entirely at (may
My mind may devote its energies day
And do that love him (Stella)
If he doth it from love.
must let him do what he will
I think — Else I must hate him still
If lower motives move.

I love at all
I love not one always
But truth — I love in me & all
And Caroline now and ayt.

I will love him & Stella
& love
And cleave to him alone.
I will forsake my earthly mate

And seek my note above.

Though my friends are dull and cold
Hearts be quick and warm.
Though their love prove its old
Mine shall be new born

Though they understand me not
I shall be understood
though by them I am forgot
Nor therefore by the good.

My friend can wound me
For him I have my heart -
Though his wounds wound me
From a foe's enchace
But there are honorable wars
And fit me for Love's more glorious wars.

These wounds are not fatal though inflicted on the heart
For the heart is not less a vital than a mortal part.
The scars are on an honorable part
The heart
Unlike the inferior heart
The wonder heart
Is not to be pierced with wood
But by fresh currents from above
Which fit it for a purer love
For all that is true & beautiful & good

(may
My friend may do whate'er he will
every day
And I shall love him (still)
If he doth it from love.
But let him do whateer he will
I think that I must hate him still
If lower motives move.

[SPIRITUAL LOVE]

I love not ~~all~~
~~one~~
I love not one always
But that[11] I love is one & all
And lasteth ever and aye.

I will leave him I hate
And cleave to him ~~I love~~
~~above~~
I will forsake my earthly mate
And seek my mate above.

[RESPONSE]

Though my friends are dull and cold
I will be quick and warm.
Though their love groweth old
Mine shall be new born

Though they understand me not
I shall be understood
Though by them I am forgot
Not therefore by the good.

[THE COURSE OF TRUE LOVE]

My friend can wound me
For to him I bare my breast -
But his wounds save me
From a foe's embrace
But these are honorable scars
And fit me for Love's more glorious wars.
the wounded heart

These wounds are not fatal, though inflicted on the heart
For the heart's not less a vital than a mortal part.
Its scars are on an honorable part
The heart

Unlike the inferior part
The wounded heart
Is not repaired with wood
But by fresh currents from above
Which fit it for a purer love
For all that's true & beautiful & good.

A small portion of a now missing journal precedes the poems---dealing with cedar trees and nests in them:

cause it to swell-- small drops of resin stand out on every side of the twigs, as if they had been punctured-- It may be the work of an insect. I have taken out walnuts & filberts & grass. Beautiful fungi like butterflies or shells--vegetable shells, winkles

'The cedar bunches up its acetate[12] leaves in the form of a pine apple 2 feet wide in the shorter axis

---

1 Collected Poems of Henry Thoreau, (Critical Edition), Chicago, 1943. Previous commentaries on Professor Bode's work include: Henry W. Wells, "An Evaluation of Thoreau's Poetry," A L, XVI (1944-1945), pp. 99-109; Raymond Adams in N E Q, XVII, no. 1 (Mar., 1944), pp. 114-117; Francis H. Allen, "Thoreau's Collected Poems," A L, XVII, 260-267, with Professor Bode's "Rejoinder," A L, XVII, 267-269. See also A L, XV, 328.

2 See Collected Poems, Appendix B, p. 267ff.

3 A L, XV, 328.

4 Thoreau was also fond of the third stanza:

Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted came,
Not with the roll of the stirring drums,
And the trumpet that sings of fame;

It is echoed in chap. VII of Walden: "But sometimes it was a really noble and inspiring strain that reached these woods, and the trumpet that sings of fame, and I felt as if I could spit a Mexican with a good relish...."

5 See, for example, Emerson's Parnassus, Boston, 1875, p. 130:

Ever a current of sadness deep
Through the streams of thy triumph is
heard to sweep.

In one of Emerson's journals he also transcribes it thus:

Therefore a current of sadness deep
Thro' the stream of thy triumph is heard to sweep.

6 Page 63.

7 The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, (Walden Edition), (6 vols.), Boston & N.Y., [1906], I, 183.

8 The Poetical Works of Hemans, Heber and Pollok. Complete in one volume. Phila., 1838, p. 465.

9 This and Mrs. Guggenheim's other important gifts are listed on pp. 43-46 of the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, LVII (1953), pp. 43-46.

10 Letter of Mr. Ivor F. Hettich, Executive Assistant, in letter dated Aug. 11, 1953.

11 The original reading was this. Thoreau converted the word into that.

12 The reading of this one word is conjectural, though reinforced by the evidence of The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau, ed. Bradford Torrey and Francis H. Allen, (14 vols.), Boston, [1949], XIII, p. 311. The eye might also guess the following (not all of them in dictionaries!): victate, rotate, caudate, sedate, credate, cretate, crenate, erectate, crested, icetate.

TWO THOREAU JOURNAL FRAGMENTS OF 1851

By the Editor.

Both the Thoreau and Emerson departments of American literature present the researcher with a jigsaw puzzle of unrelated parts of manuscripts, which must somehow be brought together if their value is ever to be assessed. Perhaps the most expedient way to deal with widely scattered, single fragments outside the large collections is

to reproduce them and thereby make them easily available for reference. Work in the larger depositories can thereby be expedited, and the cooperative private collector will help and not hinder the on-going synthesis. This short article will illustrate my plan.

I

The Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., in Sale 1620 (Fall, 1955)---the collection of the late Henry S. Borneman---offered as Item 127 an eight-page MS. "containing Thoreau's famous 'Note of the Whippoorwill' as well as many beautiful thoughts on nature. The manuscript begins...and ends with 'The entrance into Hubbard's wood above the spring, coming from the hill, is like the entrance to a cave, but when you are within there are some streaks of light on the edge of the path.'" For variants compare the first page of the manuscript, reproduced here, → with the printed Journal for June 11, 1851 (II, 235ff.).

II

The second manuscript is a single leaf, written on both sides, presented to the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library by Mrs. Simon Guggenheim in 1953 and reproduced here with permission. It represents a pencilled revision of the text printed in the Journal for Aug. 8, 1851----that is, a later version. (See Journal, II, 380ff.). The letters which I have added in the right margins refer to the faint pencillings which, because they do not reproduce well, I shall edit below:

A = Aug 8 51

B = On the top of a bare rocky hill

C = V s of arctic night [? Vide supra]

D = V Jan 21 53

The note of the whippoorwill suggests how far apart are the woods and the town. It is very rarely heard by those who live on the street — though it sometimes comes into their yards — and then it is thought to be a bird of ill omen. Many a man of middle age has never heard it utter its note. Only the dwellers on the outskirts of the village, and belated travellers hear it occasionally. But go into the woods in a warm night at this season and it is the prevailing sound. I hear now 5 or 6 at once. It is therefore no more of an ill omen here than the night and the moonlight are. It is a bird not of the woods, but of the night side of the woods. New beings have come to the air we breathe, filling the crevices of nature with sound while we are still. Would it not be a wild place to sleep where you might hear the whippoorwill in your dreams!

A

made nothing of it. We can
do it now by getting such pictures
as those, men would re-establish
all the superstitions of antiquity. If
it be not that reason should govern
us, and not those blind intimations,
of which we can form no clear into a
reason.

B

In contemplation I sit while
(in the shade of the woods), and look
out on the moonlit fields that
seem, are more remarkable than
by day.

We are in a warmer state than we
now. We perfectly warm & I
am tempted to stay out all night,
and observe each phenomenon
the night will bring, but
if I should do so, may be the
whole town would be raised & hunt
me up. I could lie out there
on this pinnacle rock without risk.
Think of lying here on your back,
with nothing between you & the
stars, and thinking but of these, that
your nearest neighbors on that
side, be they strange or be they tame,
be they other worlds or merely or-

moments & then, who could live
go to sleep under these circum-
stances?

C

Sitting on the door step of
the old house, at 9 o'clock, I
hear a pear drop. Now & then
the apples that fall to me hear
fall. I hear a horse neigh from
time to time, in the pasture. He sees
me & knows me to be aware, though
I do not see him. I hear the
9 o'clock bell ringing in Bedford,
an unpretty musical sound, but
a bell in the morning always is.
pleasantly sounds the voice of
the village to a hill.

D

Since I sat here a couple
star has gone behind the elm of
a tree, proving that my machine is
moving - proving it better for me
than a rotating pendulum.

I hear a solitary whippoorwill on a
hill-top on the west - fewer sounds
than in spring - the gray cliffs across
the river are plain to be seen.

But now the star appears on the
other side of the tree - & I must go
to bed, as I see up here
I am 3 rapidly changing to an opaleye.

SOME COLLECTIONS OF EMERSON MANUSCRIPTS (PART TWO)

By the Editor.

The following inventory of the important Berg Collection of the New York Public Library will be a valuable continuation of our earlier lists. (See E S Q, No. 8.)

EMERSON LETTERS

To:		Date
[ ]	[York, Eng.]	Jan. 14, 1848
Alcott, Amos Bronson	Concord,	Aug. 1, 1837
Alcott, Amos Bronson	Boston,	July 22, 1839
Alcott, Amos Bronson	Concord,	Nov. 18, 1839
Alcott, Amos Bronson	[Concord?]	Jan. 4, 1850
Alcott, Amos Bronson	Concord,	Feb. 23, 1838
Bacon, Delia	[Mass.]	July 28, 1856
Banks, Major General	Concord,	Sept.29, 1862
Blake, H. G. O.	Concord,	Feb. 17, [1846?]
Blake, H. G. O.	Concord,	July 4, 1847
Blake, H. G. O.	Concord,	July 27, 1858
Blake, H. G. O.	[Mass.]	May 14, 1866
Blake, H. G. O.	Concord,	May 26, [1866]
Blake, H. G. O.	Concord,	Oct. 14, [1877]
Blake, H. G. O.	Concord,	Dec. 7, 1876
Blake, H. G. O.	Concord,	Dec. 26, [1876]
Carlyle, Mrs. Jane	Concord,	June 19, 1844
Carlyle, Thomas	Concord,	Oct. [illegible], 1835
Carlyle, Thomas	Concord,	Apr. 28, [1839]
Carlyle, Thomas	Concord,	July 8, 1839
[On reverse are Carlyle's penciled notes.]		
Carlyle, Thomas	Concord,	Aug. 30, 1840
Carlyle, Thomas	Concord,	Oct. 14, 1841
[On back in Carlyle's hand is a portion of [his article on Baillie the Covenanter.]		
Carlyle, Thomas	Concord,	Mar. 31, 1842
Cary, Edward	Port Byron, Ill.	Feb. 17, 1867
Chapman, John	Concord,	Dec. 30, 1844
Chapman, John	Concord,	May 15, 1846
Chapman, John	Boston,	Oct. 30, 1846
Chapman, John	Manchester,	Nov. 15, 1847
Chapman, John	[Concord,]	Oct. 10, 1849
Child, L. Maria	Concord	Nov. 23, 1859
Conway, Moncure D.	Concord,	Nov. 13, 1851
Corning, Mr.	[Concord?]	[Mar. 15, 1874?]
Curtis, George Wm.	Concord,	Aug. 6, 1852
Drury, Mrs. Emily M.	Concord,	June 12, 1853
Drury, Mrs. Emily M.	Concord,	Nov. 23, 1853
Drury, Mrs. Emily M.	[Mass.]	June 18, 1854
Drury, Mrs. Emily M.	[Concord]	Mar. 31, 1855
Drury, Mrs. Emily M.	Concord,	Nov. 2, 1857
Dudley, El[illegible]idge G.	Concord,	Apr. 20, 1860
Duncan, Rebecca	Concord,	May 15, 1862
Duyckinck, Evert A.	Concord,	Apr. 10, 1852
Emerson, Charles C.	Concord,	Dec. 4-5, 1834
Emerson, Lidian	[Liverpool?]	[Nov. 4, 1847?]
Fields, James T.	Concord,	Dec. 28, [n.y.]
Flower, Mr.	Concord,	Apr. 11, [1849]
Goodman, Alfred T.	[Concord,]	Mar. 1, 1866
Greeley, Horace	Concord,	July 23, 1850
[Autographed note from Henry David Thoreau [on the second leaf.]		
Greeley, Horace	Concord,	Aug. 5, 1850
Greenough, Horatio	Concord,	Jan. 7, 1852
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Concord,	Dec. 22, 1850
Hawthorne, Sophia P.	Concord,	Dec. 1, 1836
Hawthorne, Sophia P.	Concord,	[ ]
Hawthorne, Sophia P.	Concord,	[ ]
Hawthorne, Sophia P.	Concord,	June 3, 1840
Hawthorne, Sophia P.	[Concord,]	[1843?]
Hawthorne, Sophia P.	Concord,	May 18, 1840
Hawthorne, Sophia P.	Concord,	Aug. 3, 1852
Heath, James F.	Concord,	Aug. 4, 1842
Heraud, John A.	Concord,	Jan. 31, 1847
Herkless, W. R. et al.	Concord,	Mar. 18, 1874
Hunt, Benjamin Peter	[ ]	Sept. 6, 1830
Hunt, Benjamin Peter	[ ]	[ ]
Hunt, Benjamin Peter	[ ]	[ ]
Hunt, Benjamin Peter	[ ]	Feb. 28, 1857.
[Laid in is a bill from Emerson to Samuel C. [Hunt for the instruction of his brother, Benja- [min Peter Hunt, dated Dec. 31, 1825, and re- [ceipted by R.W.E. Also a MS. agreement be- [tween E. Littell (acting for B. Smith, proprie- [tor of the museum) and Benjamin Peter Hunt for [Hunt's purchase of magazines; dated Sept. 20, [1841.]		
[Hutton, Robert?]	[London]	May 3, [1848]
Ingersoll, Mrs. H. C.	Concord,	Sept. 30, 1858
Ireland, Alexander	Concord,	May 12, 1850
Ireland, Alexander	Concord,	Apr. 9, 1863
Jackson, George	Concord,	Dec. 12, 1870
Jameson, Anna	Concord,	Apr. 20, 1853
Lowell, James Russell	Concord,	Nov. 17, [1852]
[Accompanied by menu of the dinner in honor of [A. H. Clough, Nov. 20, 1852, autographed by [Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Clough et al.]		
Mackay, Doctor	Concord,	Oct. 26, [185-]
Monroe, James & Co.	Bangor,	Oct. 13, 1846
Morse, Charles E.	Concord,	June 26, 1855
Osgood, James R.	Concord,	May 12, 1875
Palmer, Thomas	Concord,	Sept. 7, 1849
Peabody, [Elizabeth?]	[ ]	[ ]
Peabody, Sophia: See Hawthorne.		
Pierpont, John	Concord,	June 7, 1838
Putnam, Mr.	Concord,	Sept. 26, 1859
[Raster, Herman]	Concord,	Jan. 4, 1856
Reed, Henry R.	[Phila.]	Jan. [ ]
Ricketson, Daniel	Concord,	Jan. 10, 1858
Rondall, Miss	Concord,	May 22, 1849
Sales, John	Boston,	Jan. 1, 1821
Silsbee, William	Concord,	Nov. 16, 1837
Stearns, Mary E.	Concord,	July 5, 1865
Sterling, John	Concord,	Aug. 15, 1842
Steward, George	Concord,	Jan. 22, 1877
Stirling, Hutchison	Concord,	June 1, 1868
Stirling, Hutchison	Concord,	Mar. 18, 1874
Stirling, Hutchison	Concord,	Jan. 25, 1875
Stoddard, Richard H.	Concord,	Oct. 11, 1858
Sumner, Charles	Concord,	Dec. 8, 1856
Taylor, Bayard	Concord,	May 4, 1865
Thoreau, Henry David	[Concord,]	[Nov. 12? 1838?]
Thoreau, Henry David	[Concord,]	[Feb.?15? 1839?]
Thoreau, Henry David	[Concord,]	[June ? 1841?]
Thoreau, Henry David	New York,	Feb. [11], 1843.
Thoreau, Henry David	Concord,	June 10, 1843
Thoreau, Henry David	Concord,	Oct. 25, 1843
Thoreau, Henry David	[Manchester?]	[Dec.?2?1847?]
Thoreau, Henry David	Manchester,	Dec. 2, 1847
Thoreau, Henry David	Manchester,	Jan. 28, 1848
Thoreau, Henry David	London,	Mar. 25, 1848
Thoreau, Henry David	Saco, Me.	Feb. 6, [1850]
Ticknor & Fields	Concord,	Apr. 2, 1867
Tyler, Columbus	Concord,	Jan. 13, 1837
Whipple, Edwin Percy	Concord,	Apr. 22, 1858
Whipple, Edwin Percy	Concord,	Oct. 12, [1871?]

Wiley, Benjamin B.	Fond du Lac,	Feb. 6, 1867
Winthrop, R. C.	Concord,	Apr. 22, [1874]
Wood, Nathaniel	Concord,	July 7, 1869
Wright, Elizer	Concord,	Jan. 3, 1852

MANUSCRIPTS OF POEMS

"Woodnotes" I and II	27 pages.
"The House"	1 leaf
"Holidays"	1 page
"Hamatreya: Earth Song"	3 pages
"Guy"	3 pages
"Ghaselle"	1 leaf
"Dirge"	3 pages
"Day's Ration"	1 leaf
"Blight"	3 pages
"Bacchus"	2 leaves
"As I Left My Door"	5 pages
[Composed for James Russell Lowell's 40th [birthday.]	
"Thine Eyes Still Shined"	1 page
"Xenophanes"	1 page
"Merlin" I and II	5 pages
"Musketaquid"	2 leaves
"Ode Inscribed to W. H. Hanning"	2 leaves
"Ode to Beauty"	2 leaves
"The Park"	1 page
"Rhodora"	1 page
"Saadi"	5 lines or leaves
"Snow-storm"	1 leaf

MANUSCRIPTS OF PROSE WORKS

"Essays" [2d Series]	1 leaf
[Pp. 184-185 of the 1st ed., 1844]	
"Address at the Dedication of the Art Museum, Boston"	
"Well-born---well-bred"	1 leaf
"To the Public"	25 pages
"Of Beauty"	107 pages
"Immortality"	148 pages
[Presentation copy, with accompanying letter, [from Edith Emerson Forbes to Charles Eliot Norton.]	

MISCELLANEOUS EMERSON MSS.

Bill from Emerson to Samuel C. Hunt, for the instruction of his brother, Benjamin Peter Hunt, dated Dec. 31, 1825, and receipted by R.W.E.

Warranty deed selling a piece of land to Nathaniel Hawthorne, signed by Emerson and his wife, dated March 8, 1852.

Receipt to Ticknor and Fields, Aug. 21, 1863, for $188. for copyright on Essays, 2d Series, Conduct of Life, English Traits.

Copy in Emerson's hand of the "Earl of Carnarvon's speech before the House of Peers." 2 leaves

Miscellaneous autograph material: 1 card with MS. note and signature.

MANUSCRIPTS ABOUT EMERSON

Emerson, Edward W. A.L.S. to Charles Eliot Norton, enclosing two poems of his father's composed for James Russell Lowell's 40th and 50th birthdays: "As I Left My Door" [In R.W.E's hand] "The Bard has Reached the Middle State" [In Edward W. Emerson's hand.]

Emerson, Ellen T. A.L.S. to James Russell Lowell, dated Concord, April 28, 1882. 2 leaves.

PLEASE ADVISE US OF EMERSON RESEARCH IN PROGRESS.

RECENT RESEARCH IN THE EMERSON FIELD

(Please send us items we may have missed.)

ANDERSON, JOHN Q. "Emerson and California," California Historical Society Quarterly, XXXIII, no. 3 (Sept., 1954), pp. 241-248. (A detailed survey of Emerson's knowledge of California and of the Far West, as well as his visit there.)

"Emerson and the Ballad of George Nidever---'Staring Down' a Grizzly Bear," Western Folklore, XV, no. 1 (Jan., 1956), pp. 40-45. (Background of the ballad appended to Emerson's essay on "Courage," composed by Elizabeth Hoar, who learned of the facts from her brother Edward. Further evidence of Emerson's interest in the literature of the folk.)

"Emerson and the Language of the Folk," Folk Travellers, Ballads, Tales, and Talk, ed. Mody C. Boatright, Wilson M. Hudson and Allen Maxwell (Texas Folklore Society Publ. No. 25), Dallas, 1953. [An exploratory study that relates Emerson's theory of language to his practical adaptation of joke, proverb, oath and folk utterance in forging his strong Saxon style.]

CAMERON, KENNETH WALTER. "Emerson's 'Capital Print' of Coleridge," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 2, pp. 8-9 (First Quarter, 1956).

"Emerson Recommends Dr. Simon Hewett," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 2, pp. 10-12 (First Quarter, 1956).

"Emerson at the Boston Athenaeum: New Evidence," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 3, pp. 12-13 (Second Quarter, 1956).

"Emerson Transmits News from Germany, 1824," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 2, pp. 12-13 (First Quarter, 1956).

"Emerson's Early Use of the Encyclopaedia Britannica," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 3, pp. 6-10 (Second Quarter, 1956).

"Emerson's Recommendation of Whitman in 1863: The Remainder of the Evidence," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 3, pp. 14-20 (Second Quarter, 1956).

"Emerson's Receipts Among the Papers of the Second Church," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 3, pp. 13-14 (Second Quarter, 1956).

"The Significance of Emerson's Second Merlin Song," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 2, pp. 2-7 (First Quarter, 1956).

"Some Collections of Emerson Manuscripts: Part One," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 3, pp. 1-3 (Second Quarter, 1956).

"Some Emerson Letters--Ungathered and Migrant," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 3, pp. 4-6 (Second Quarter, 1956).

"Thoreau's Harvard Friends Discuss Emerson's Nature," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 2, p. 8 (First Quarter, 1956).

"Young Emerson, Bardism, and Circle Imagery," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 2, pp. 17-18 (First Quarter, 1956).

COBB, ROBERT P. "Society Versus Solitude: Studies in Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Whitman," Dissertation Abstracts, XV (1955), p. 1396. [University of Michigan Dissertation].

COHEN, B. BERNARD. "Emerson's Poem 'Pan'," Modern Language Notes, LXX (1955), 32-33.

CRONIN, MORTON. "Some Notes on Emerson's Prose Diction," American Speech, XXIX, 105-113 (May, 1954).

DEATON, M. B. "Order and Organization in Emerson's 'Self-Reliance'," Exercise Exchange (Pub. by Rinehart & Company, Inc.), III, no. 1 (Dec., 1955), pp. 4-5.

EIDSON, JOHN O. "Charles Stearns Wheeler: Emerson's 'Good Grecian'," N E Q, XXVII (1954), 472-483.

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO. Emerson at Dartmouth, Hanover (Westholm Publications), 1956. (A reprint of the famous 1838 oration, Literary Ethics, in an attractive edition of 300 numbered copies by the Lane Press of Burlington, Vt. The editor is Prof. Herbert F. West, president of the Thoreau Society; his mailing address is Box 82, Hanover, N.H.)

HENDRICK, GEORGE. "Emerson and Gandhi," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 2, pp. 7-8 (First Quarter, 1956). [More evidence for the influence of American Transcendentalists upon the Orient.]

LEWIS, R. W. B. The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century, Chicago, 1955. (Emerson is cited throughout. A review of this important book will appear in the next issue of the Emerson Society Quarterly.)

McCORMICK, EDGAR L. "An Exercise to Encourage Understanding and Application of the Basic Ideas of Emerson and Thoreau," Exercise Exchange (Pub. by Rinehart & Company, Inc.), III, no. 2 (Feb., 1956), pp. 11-12.

MacDONALD, HUGH P. The Power of Emerson's Wisdom, N.Y., 1954. [We have not been able to discover the publisher of this book. Can anyone help us?]

McELDERRY, B. R., Jr. "Wolfe and Emerson on 'Flow'," Modern Fiction Studies, II, no. 2 (May, 1956), pp. 77-78.

MARKIEWICZ, ZYGMUNT. "Mickiewicz vulgarisateur d'Emerson," Revue de Littérature Comparée, XXIX (1955), 543-548.

O'CONNOR, W. V. "Emerson, Chapman and Righteous Individualism," Revue des Langues Vivantes, XXI, 442-447 (No. 5, 1955).

PAULITS, BROTHER F. JOSEPH. "Emerson's Concept of Good and Evil," Dissertation Abstracts, XV (1955), pp. 1063-1064. [University of Pittsburgh Diss.]

POTTER, RUSSELL. "Ladies & Gentlemen, Mr. Emerson," Saturday Review, March 10, 1956, pp. 9-10, 40-41. (Emerson's significance in the American Tradition, in spite of the current influence of Orwell and Sartre.)

ROLLINS, HENRY B. Emerson and Practical Affairs. (Diss. in progress: University of North Carolina.)

SNUGGS, HENRY L. "Emerson and Ben Jonson" [We give a summary of this paper, read before the South Atlantic Modern Language Ass'n at Daytona Beach, 1955, found in the South Atlantic Bulletin, XXI, No. 3 (Jan., 1956): "Emerson read Ben Jonson's works throughout most of his creative period. Jonson's sententious prose in Discoveries appealed especially to Emerson. The thought of a number of sections of Discoveries is remarkably similar to that of The American Scholar. Discoveries can be included in the list of Renaissance works that influenced E's ideas."

TAFT, KENDALL B. "The Byronic Background of Emerson's 'Good-Bye'," N E Q, XXVII (1954), 525-527.

WRIGHT, CONRAD. "Emerson, Barzillai Frost, and the Divinity School Address," Harvard Theological Review, XLIX, no. 1 (Jan., 1956), pp. 19-43. [An important monograph on Emerson's sensitivity in the presence of dull, uninspired, pulpit discourses. Evidence of Barzillai Frost's being an example of what, in Emerson's opinion, the younger clergy ought especially to avoid. Valuable as a chapter in intimate Emerson biography.]

News and Ideas

We have added to the Society's Collection a copy of the MS. of F. E. Schortemeier's "Indianapolis Newspaper Accounts of Ralph Waldo Emerson" [pub. in the Indiana Magazine of History, XLIX, no. 3 (Sept., 1953), 307-312.]

Prof. Walter Harding writes that there is a possible fragment of Thoreau's natural history collections in the THOREAU SOCIETY ARCHIVES, acquired some years ago from the Middlesex School. See Thoreau Society Bulletin, No. 29.

John L. Cooley, Esq., sent in the important recommendation that we staple the E S Q at one end only in order to keep it from buckling in the mails. He has recently acquired a copy of The Dial for July, 1842, in wrappers, with author identifications and other notations in Thoreau's handwriting.

Charles Feinberg, Esq., 14015 Hamilton Avenue, Detroit 3, writes that he has Thoreau's copy of Pliny in 3 vols., with his name on each title page. He also has a label advertising the pencils. We wish to congratulate him and his co-editor, William White, on the new format of the Walt Whitman Newsletter, to be published quarterly by the Wayne University Press, 4841 Cass Avenue, Detroit 1, Mich.

Prof. Norse S. Allen writes: "Do you happen to know the source of a passage that compares 'going against nature' (I think) to hewing with an ax on the under side of a log, upward against gravity? Many years ago I ran across it somewhere in Emerson, or, less probably, in Thoreau." Can any of our readers help us locate this reference?

The L C owns an Emerson letter dated May 23, 1851, to A. R. Spofford (later, Librarian of Congress), acknowledging money in behalf of H. D. Thoreau. It was exhibited at the American Academy of Arts and Letters, N.Y.C., Dec. 3-30, 1954.

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